FELLOWSHIP

• *September, 1950* • Vol. XVI—No. 8 • 20 cents a copy—$2.00 a year

Strengthening the United Nations

Cops in Korea, **by Alfred Hassler**

Letter from Paris, **by Ann Morrissett**

Pacifists on Soap-Boxes, **by Constance Muste**

ff This is the first issue of FELLOWSHIP to leave the editorial rooms since the outbreak of war in Korea. (Though it reached readers afterward, the July issue was out of our hands a couple of weeks before.) All of the articles in this issue reflect the changed situation. Alfred Hassler's *Cops in Korea* is an exposition of the factors that underlie the situation there, examining its relationship to the Cold War and the rivalry between Russia and the United States. . . . Ann Morrissett, a young American in Paris, gives a lively and perspicacious account of the temper of the French since the events of June 25 and those that have followed. She is working in the AFSC office, located on attractively-named rue Notre Dame des Champs. . . . *Pacifists on Soap-Boxes* gives a very good preview of what members of the FOR are going to be up against in the months and years to come when they go out into the highways and byways to spread the pacifist message. This Caravan experiment, the FOR's first, has proved to be of great value for both the FOR and the participants.

FELLOWSHIP

Published by the

Fellowship of Reconciliation

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FELLOWSHIP is published monthly except August. Re-entered as second-class matter July 1, 1947, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

20 Cents a Copy $2 a year

Fellowship

the journal of the fellowship of reconciliation

September, 1950 Vol. XVI—No. 8

Subheads

Big

Who would ever have suspected that by 1950 the "Big Five" of the UN would be the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France and Formosa?

Freedom

One of the distinguishing characteristics of democracy as against totalitarianism of any variety is the former's tolerance. In a democracy men are permitted to hold and express unpopular and even detested ideas without fear or penalty.

Demonstrating how true this is, the Detroit Common Council closed a newsstand for selling the *Daily Worker*, auto workers in Milwaukee forced eight men out of their jobs and broke the back of one of them for signing the Communist-sponsored "Stockholm peace petition," Philadelphia police arrested two men for having "peace literature" in their car, New York police refused Communists a permit for a "peace demonstration," McKeesport (Pa.) has ordered all permanent or transient Communists to register with the police, and the city of Birmingham, Alabama, gave all Communists or "sympathizers" forty-eight hours to get out of town or be arrested.

Babel

Listening to some of the debates in the Security Council makes us grateful the Esperantists have never had their wish for one universal language gratified. Now, when a delegate wants to snap back at some statement he considers offensive, he must wait through two translations of the offending utterance. He may still be mad when his turn comes, but at least he's had a chance to think about it. If the delegates were all functioning in one language, we suspect the UN would have exploded a couple of years ago.

Our Own Lexicographer (No-War Division)

In an editorial supporting the "police action" in Korea, *The Progressive* referred to the "true-blue pacifists whose total and un-

selfish dedication to peace robs them of the capacity to see how meeting force with force can result in anything but war."

This reminded us vaguely of something we had heard or read a long time ago, and we finally tracked it down as a song in "H.M.S. Pinafore." The words needed a little alteration to bring them up to date, but otherwise Messrs. Gilbert and Sullivan seem to have been thinking right along with Editor Rubin. With apologies, therefore, we dedicate to *The Progressive*—

Things Are Seldom What They Seem

Things are seldom what they seem,
Battles are an idle dream,
Bullets fly imaginary,
Men are killed but not so very.

Very true. So they do.

Tanks go rumbling on at peace
Filled with men who are police,
If they chance to roll in gore
Still it can't be called a war.

Yes we know. That is so.

When a pilot drops a bomb
He lets go with great aplomb.
If it kills a poor Korean
Still there's no war on the scene.

Certainly. That could be.

Rifles blaze and cannons roar
In a peace that looks like war:
Pity the poor pacifist
He sees but the casualty list.

Oh how sad! Oh too bad!

If this seems a trifle queer
Facts are facts and very clear:
Peace is war and war is peace
And the army's but police.

Never fear! It is clear!

Constructive

We would hate to have it said that this department shuns the constructive and positive. Herewith, therefore, and without obligation, we offer the government two suggestions for starting a real move for world peace.

Northeast China is suffering the worst famine in 72 years, with between 20 and 30 million people reported starving, the result of floods last year. The Communist government is making strenuous efforts to forestall new threats of floods.

Our first suggestion is that the United States immediately offer to China, with no strings attached, a large part of the surplus food stored in government warehouses here, to be transported in some of the hundreds of inactive Liberty ships left over from the last war. The second suggestion is that simultaneously we propose to North Korea the discontinuance of hostilities and the immediate offer to China of a loan of all United Nations and North Korean army units, unarmed, for flood-control work.

We would wager our entire savings, or approximately $33, against a half-eaten doughnut that three things would happen:

1. The action would electrify the whole world, and the sigh of relief would be audible from the Pentagon to the Kremlin.
2. The North Koreans would accept.
3. The American people, by and large, would approve.

Any takers?

Apt

The Army has named a new rocket Loki, after the Norse god who "at the twilight of the gods... will lead forth the hosts of Hell."

Straws in a Foolish Wind

The National Federation of Business and Professional Women defeated a proposal to require a "little loyalty oath" of all candidates for office in the organization.

* * *

The Communist Party is reported by J. Edgar Hoover to have set up "loyalty boards" to root out infiltrating FBI agents. A subcommittee of three members of the 13-member national executive committee is investigating the other ten.

* * *

Rep. Clare Hoffman has called for the appointment of a special committee to investigate the special committee that was appointed to investigate lobbying.

* * *

Attorney-General McGrath has assured the nation that the FBI knows the name of every Communist in the United States and (in the same speech) that the FBI is not a secret police.

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A bill pending before the House (Hobbs bill) would authorize the attorney-general to imprison for life certain "criminal or subversive" aliens who cannot be deported. No specific crime required—just general undesirability.

Hopeful

Maybe pacifists can take hope from the experience of Costa Rica when it tried to give a 21-gun salute to its President, Don Otilio Ulate. The U.S.-trained artillerymen handling the antiquated cannon could coax out only six shots for the occasion.

Statesmen Please Note

The Associated Press released the other day the story of a four-year-old boy who came crying to his mother with the news that his cocker spaniel had bitten him.

"He bit me on the finger," cried the little boy, "so I bit him back and he bit me on the other finger."

"Well, why didn't you bite him again?" his mother asked.

"Because," said Jimmy firmly, "he would just keep right on biting me."

State of Utter Confusion

"Making it clear he does not consider commitment of U. S. planes and ships to South Korea as 'direct military intervention,' the assistant secretary-general of the United Nations predicted that military intervention by either the U. S. or Russia would mean world war and death to the United Nations.

"Benjamin Cohen justified the sending of American aid to the South Koreans as compliance with a United Nations resolution asking members to aid in enforcing a cease-fire order.

" 'The Korean war can be cut down to the status of a local incident, held in check by the moral power of the United Nations—provided the U. S. and Russia keep hands off,' Mr. Cohen said. 'We face a moment of choice between annihilation and life.' "

—San Francisco *News*, June 28, 1950.

A Communist-sponsored "peace conference" in Milan, Italy, passed a resolution stating: "We are not pacifists. We will fight to maintain peace."

IS IT A FULL-FLEDGED WAR, OR
IS IT REALLY ONLY——

Cops in Korea

By ALFRED HASSLER

A FEW DAYS BEFORE North Korean troops crossed the thirty-eighth parallel, an important denominational publishing house began negotiating for the publishing rights to a new book on the theological basis of pacifism, written by a respected and capable theologian. A couple of weeks later negotiations were off, with the author courteously advised that "in view of the Korean situation," the company had decided against publication for fear of unfavorable repercussions. "Most of our people," explained the letter, "consider the fighting in Korea a form of police action rather than a war."

"Most of our people" are not alone. It is astonishing how completely the concept of "police action" has dominated American reaction to the Administration's adventure in Korea. Communists, pacifists, and a handful of last-ditch isolationists have constituted virtually the only vocal opposition. Since most pacifists are equally uncomfortable bedded down with either isolationists or Communists, this leaves them for the foreseeable future reduced pretty much to talking to themselves.

The usual apologists for power politics have been joined by all sorts of former anti-war stalwarts. The Federal Council of Churches rushed word of its support into print almost before the President had finished ordering resistance in Korea.[1] The Church Peace Union and the American Council of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through Religion followed suit[2] in a joint statement labelling the invasion of South Korea "a clear-cut case of aggression," expressing the conviction that the action "may well . . . strengthen the moral force of the United Nations," and urging churches to prayer that "out of this unfortunate Korean conflict will come a renewal of our faith in the United Nations, in true liberty and universal human rights and in the ideal of peace with justice."

The Socialist Party's National Action Committee announced its unanimous support of intervention "despite the mistakes of our government in the past,"[3] while *The Progressive*, consistently anti-militarist and iconoclast with respect to foreign policy, produced an editorial[4] signed by editor Morris Rubin saying essentially the same thing and throwing in the comment that the devotion of "true-blue pacifists" to peace "robs them of the capacity to see how meeting force with force can result in anything but war."

And so it has gone: a great chorus from a multitude of throats whose owners have not been as united on anything in years. Not war in Korea, but police action.

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1 New York *Times*, July 7, 1950.
2 New York *Times*, July 30, 1950.
3 Socialist *Call*, July 7, 1950
4 *The Progressive*, August 1950.

And only the suspect protests of the Communists and isolationists, the weak plaints of the pacifists, and the possible silent resistance of the 25 percent of potential registrants to the draft who are delinquent suggest the possibility of any other point of view.

Police or War?

Whatever the technical definitions—and however blinded the pacifists—practically, the fighting in Korea is indistinguishable from war. Two armies are struggling against each other. Each is killing as many of the other's personnel as it can. Each has recourse to all the weapons of war it has available, and has no hesitation about bombing or strafing roads, railroads, villages and noncombatants where such action seems to its immediate advantage. And, of course, men are being killed or wounded on just as wholesale a scale as if the action were openly labeled war.

Nevertheless, say those who support our intervention, it is "police action," initiated and directed by the United Nations, operating as a world organization attempting to preserve peace and restrain aggression.

To this pacifists make a two-pronged reply:

1. It is restraining action by a world organization only on the most superficial and legalistic basis. Practically, it is part of the formerly "cold" war between the United States and the USSR, in which Korea and the Koreans, as well as the United Nations itself, have been and are being manipulated with complete callousness by both sides as their "national interests" seem to dictate.

2. The Korean experience already demonstrates the validity of pacifist criticism of proposals for a "world police force" under either the United Nations or some form of world government. Pacifists have contended that any so-called "world police" not restricted to acting against individuals would be in fact an army, and that its use would be in fact war. Only where a very weak power was the nominal "aggressor," pacifists have maintained, could such a "police force" hope to inhibit hostilities; where friction between the great powers was involved—and obviously this is where the real danger to world peace lay—the act of sending the "police" into action would precipitate large-scale war. Now it appears that even where very weak nations are concerned the "police" argument is invalid, since all nations willy-nilly are being gobbled up as satellites or "keys to the defense" of one or the other of the principal antagonists.

Anti-United States feeling in India has never been so widespread as it is now. With every day of the Korean war bringing more news of bombed cities and flaming villages, the unpopularity of the United States is growing.

New York *Times*
August 12, 1950

The United Nations and Korea

The "police" interpretation of the war in Korea is built on a two-dimensional view of the United Nations and its behavior since June 25. This view sees the United Nations as a world organization created and functioning in the interests of world peace. When North

Korea invaded South Korea, without warning or provocation, this UN acted through its Security Council to issue a "cease-fire" order. When that order was ignored, the UN called on its member-states to join in repelling this aggression, and most of them are now so engaged, if only in token strength in many cases.

But if the picture is granted depth as well as surface, the UN, and especially the Security Council, in fact has been the cockpit of struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union almost since its inception. No action of the Security Council can be seen in its proper perspective except against the background of this struggle. No speech is made, no motion proposed, but that the overriding consideration is the effect on the relative positions of the two parties to the struggle. Few votes in Congress have been more consistently along party lines than are the votes in the Security Council divided between "East" and "West." The clashes between the antagonists are frequent and sharp, and they are confined almost entirely to attempts of each to make his nation show up more advantageously, propaganda-wise, than his adversary.

There is more tragedy than humor in this paradox: that an organization dedicated to prevent war should be pronounced vindicated when it successfully involved itself, through some of its members, in a war it could not prevent.

World Government News
August, 1950

How does all this relate to the Korean situation?

Last January the Security Council defeated an attempt of the Soviet Union to replace the delegate from Nationalist China with one from the Communist People's Republic of China. Several even of the Western delegates were frankly unhappy about the decision. The Chinese Communists are in fact the government of China. The Nationalists, under Chiang Kai-shek, have taken refuge on Formosa and a few small islands. They are defeated, discredited and disowned by the bulk of the Chinese people. However unhappy the West might be about it, the Communists under Mao Tse-Tung have won the civil war and established a government, and apparently have much more popular support than had Chiang. Several of the Western nations, including Great Britain, have extended formal recognition to the "People's Republic."

On the face of it there would seem to be no argument about the new government's right to represent China in the United Nations. But to have allowed it to do so would have meant giving world communism another voice, and a powerful one, on the Security Council, and this the United States opposed. Its opposition, channeled through its political and economic influence on the other members of the Council, was sufficient to carry the day.

Russia's answer, as everyone knows, was to "walk out," announcing that it would consider all actions of the UN illegal so long as the representatives of the "Kuomintang group" participated in them.

It can hardly be successfully argued that an organization that does not include the participation of the government of the Soviet Union and the de facto government

of China can claim to be a "world organization." Yet it was only because these two were not present that the Security Council could take the action with respect to Korea that it did. Since Communist China and Russia are both frankly partisans of North Korea, what the "police action" really means is that a truncated UN has been conscripted as an ally of the United States in its struggle against the Soviet Union and world communism. How completely true this is may be seen in the fact that the UN call for military action in Korea followed the United States' initiation of such action! Should Communist China continue to be excluded and the Soviet Union either withdraw or renew its boycott, the UN presumably will continue as such an ally so long as it has propaganda value. If the Peiping government is admitted, or Russia stays in, or both, then the UN will revert to its function as a sounding-board for the propaganda of both sides, gradually sinking into complete impotence and disrepute unless some completely new and unforeseen element enters the picture.

These things are so obvious that it seems redundant even to recite them, yet the prevailing discussions in America either gloss over or ignore them completely. No one who listened to the nearly three hours of debate in the Security Council on August 1, when Jacob Malik of the USSR returned to assume the presidency of the Council, could fail to be disillusioned about the role of the Security Council in reestablishing peace. The "debate" consisted entirely of bickering, jockeying for advantage through parliamentary maneuvers, and name-calling between Mr. Malik and U.S. representative Warren Austin. There was no attempt at conciliation or honest discussion of the problem, but only a near-adolescent concentration on scoring off the opponent. "And this," said one listener in huge disgust, "is our hope for peace!"

The "Inevitable" War

It is possible that the Korean conflict will be brought to an end without spreading into a global conflict; that might even happen before this article is in print. While that is devoutly to be wished for, since even the worst peace holds more hope than war, it is important to realize that such a development would affect only superficially the likelihood of World War III within the next decade or so. That war becomes more and more "inevitable," not primarily because men and governments are committed to the belief that war is the ultimate recourse in international dispute, but because that commitment determines and hopelessly compromises all national policy in the interim.

Most Americans acknowledge that the struggle between communism and democracy lies principally in the realm of ideas rather than arms. Even the high brass frequently give lip service to the ideal of an America winning men's allegiance by genuine devotion to "truth" and "freedom" and "equality," and disturbed Congressmen fill the *Congressional Record* with their concern that the world be shown America's real devotion to the welfare of the common man.

But because America and her Congressmen and high brass are convinced that if everything else fails we shall have to seek victory through violence, the need to "pre-

pare" for that eventuality takes precedence over "everything else." So America throws her strength feverishly behind every anti-Communist government in the world, regardless of how reactionary it may be, hoping that somehow the people who detest those governments will still understand the purity of her motives.

Syngman Rhee's regime has been marked by an intensification of the police state character of the South Korean government. Newspapers have been suppressed, students have been spied upon and jailed, trade unionists have been beaten, terrorized and imprisoned and even members of the National Assembly who became uncomfortably vocal in their criticism of Rhee have been arrested and jailed.

Stewart Meacham, for 10 months Labor Advisor to commander of U.S. occupation forces in Korea

Greece, Turkey, the Kuomintang in China and now Formosa, the French in Indo-China—these are the mileposts of democracy's defeats. And on the day before this was written the Senate, with only two voices raised in protest, approved a $100,000,000 loan to the viciously totalitarian and militaristic regime of Francisco Franco in Spain, with Senator Chavez of New Mexico declaring that opposition to the loan was inspired by "Communist influences."

So in Korea, too. The sorry record the United States has made in that country may be read in the recently published *Korea Today*,[5] a healthy antidote to the propaganda that portrays South Korea as a functioning democracy and the dispute over Korean unification as totally inspired by Russian intransigence.

Our support of the extreme rightist party of Syngman Rhee, our deferment of badly needed and promised land reform, our encouragement of a regime that used terrorism and violence to suppress unions and democratic movements, our insistence on going through with the "UN-sponsored" elections in the face of the vigorous opposition of all Korean political parties except those of the extreme right —and in the face, too, of serious doubts expressed in the UN by Australian and Canadian delegates —all these directly contradicted our expressed intentions with regard to Korea, and all were dictated by the overarching "necessity" of "opposing communism."

Most of the liberals and Christians who support the "police action" in Korea and condemn pacifists as "unrealistic," know and deplore their country's sorry and undemocratic actions, but cling still to the desperate hope that the laws of cause and effect will be repealed and that somehow, if only this immediate crisis can be surmounted, it will prove possible in the future to travel in two diametrically opposite directions at once and arrive thereby at permanent peace.

The pacifist, blinded by his conviction that war is war, would have his country give it up, now and for keeps. Having given war up, he maintains, the nation could then devote its energies wholeheartedly to the development and export of a living democracy for all men, against which the promises of communism would be empty and tarnished delusions.

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[5] *Korea Today*, by George McCune. Harvard University Press, 1950.
See also: Korea: Spark to Set a World Afire?, by A. J. Muste. FELLOWSHIP.

An exciting technique,
new to F.O.R., the Caravans put

PACIFISTS ON SOAP-BOXES

By CONSTANCE MUSTE

LANCASTER, Pennsylvania, is a city of about 65,000 souls in the heart of the Pennsylvania Dutch country. It is solidly Republican and conservative, and labor men will tell you that it's anti-union from way back.

The town's big industry is the Armstrong Linoleum and Cork Company, whose size gives it political as well as economic power. There are two newspapers, the conservative *New Era*, with a circulation of over 100,000 in the county, which is hostile to anything farther left than the Republican Party; and the *Intelligencer-Journal*, considerably smaller in circulation but on the whole very fair in its reporting. Both papers are owned by the same company, but have different editors who are evidently allowed some leeway.

Into this town on Sunday, July 2, a little group of five people moved, four young men between the ages of 16 and 26, and their leader. It was an FOR Caravan, and after a two weeks' training period in New York they were out on their own. Their job was to present the pacifist point of view to Lancaster by various peace education techniques—and they had a spectacular success.

Things started out quietly enough as the group began to feel around for the temper of the population and make plans for the projects it would carry out. They mimeographed cards and sent them to FOR members and friends in Lancaster and the surrounding towns inviting them to a meeting on the coming Friday to find out what ideas the local people had on the function of the Caravan and how its activities could be integrated with the work of the local FOR. On Monday, July 3, they wrote and mimeographed a flyer to be distributed the next day, urging the way of Gandhi to win freedom from fear and militarism for the world. On the evening of July 4 they carried out their first project, the distribution of 300 of these flyers on the downtown streets of Lancaster.

The group was a mixed one in some ways, homogeneous in purpose and basic principles. Jesse Brown of nearby Brownstown, Pennsylvania, graduated in June from Elizabethtown College, and plans to go to theological seminary. Phil Marden is a senior in high school, lives in New Brunswick, New Jersey, and is the son of a professor of sociology at Rutgers. Ted Woldorf has finished his junior year at Ohio State, and is trying to orient himself in the fairly new atmosphere of pacifism and decide where to go from here. John Bailey spent three years in CPS camps, is a graduate of William Penn College and has done work at Penn State toward a Master's degree in sociology. He made a trip to Poland in July 1946 on a Brethren cattle boat and is now (no connection that we know of) thinking of going into

sheep farming. Leader of the group was London-born Winifred Rawlins, member of the Society of Friends, who has been in this country for several years working in various aspects of the pacifist movement.

The leaflet distribution on the Fourth of July went well. Quite a few people stopped to talk, and there were some long, good conversations on pacifism and the world situation. Most of those who stopped to talk said they were pacifists, too, "but thought we could accomplish more in Korea or Russia." A few passers-by called them Communists. It was just over a week after the outbreak of war in Korea.

Next day they sent letters to eighty people and organizations in town telling about the Caravan and the FOR, who the Caravan's members were, and announcing their willingness to speak to local groups or lead discussions. The only response eventually came from a Mennonite who sent them a pamphlet outlining the Mennonite peace testimony, but had no speaking engagements to offer. That week they also visited the editors of the two newspapers to outline their purpose in coming to Lancaster, and both papers carried half-column stories reporting these purposes and the philosophy behind them very fairly.

On Friday, July 7, the meeting of FOR members and friends took place in the home of two local FOR members. It was attended by about 25 people, including a reporter from the *Intelligencer-Journal*, who gave the meeting an extensive write-up in the next day's paper.

As a result of the meeting and the efforts of Caravaners and local people, engagements began to line up in local church and discussion groups. In the next week the Caravaners, sometimes one or two of them, sometimes the group, talked to a Sunday School class of young adults in the Lansdowne Methodist Church, a discussion group of Friends in Downingtown, the Interracial Council of Lancaster, a group of young FOR members and Friends at the Lancaster Y, and the Lancaster Friends Meeting. On Thursday the papers carried the news that the Caravaners were planning a poll "to determine in some measure the community's feelings toward war, world peace and segregation."

The Deluge

Friday, July 14, was a day to be remembered not only for its events but for its after-effects. That morning Jesse went to the Police Department to find out the regulations on poster walks. Lancaster hadn't seen a poster walk for ten years and no one seemed to know. He ended up talking to the Captain of Detectives, and for half an hour they discussed the meaning of pacifism, and jails and the treatment of criminals. "You people wouldn't need policemen," the Captain deduced. "What you'd want would be a lot of psychiatrists and doctors." But some people, he maintained, have a tendency to steal even if they have all they need.

Before they had been talking long, he came out bluntly with the question the Caravaners came up against everywhere they turned. "What connection do you have with the Communists?" Jesse told him the FOR was against totalitarianism, whether of the right or left, and that the pacifist position was in basic conflict with that of communism. He must have been persuasive, because by the time he left

the Captain saw no reason why they shouldn't have a poster walk, though he still disagreed with the pacifist position himself. And he suggested that Jesse go to see the *New Era* reporter Jerry Conn, who thought the Caravaners were Communists. This he did, with indeterminate results.

At about 1 p.m., in the midst of the Friday rush hour, they began their poster walk in the town square, in the heart of the shopping district. Their signs urged mediation in Korea, warned of atomic war, said "Declare Yourself a World Citizen," and "Gandhi's Way Can Work Today." Dorothea Williams and Mary Satterthwaite of the local FOR handed out leaflets.

Hostile Reaction

There was a lot of hostility. A lady with a little boy by the hand, who stood and watched most of the time they paraded, thought up something new to say each time they came around.

A man who was setting up a microphone for a man-in-the-street radio program grew more and more furious and redder in the face with the passing minutes, and shouted, "Tell us who you are and we'll blast you on the air!" Finally, despite her belief that poster walkers shouldn't stop to talk, Winifred stepped out of line and said, "Do you really want to know more about us?" He pushed his face to within a few inches of hers and said furiously, "Who are you kidding?" She began to tell him quietly who they were and why they were there, and watched his anger gradually subside.

A very nice woman, egged on by a knot of friends who stood talking and watching, finally stepped forward and spat on Ted's feet, and, on the point of tears, called the boys names she had probably never used in her life before. Every now and then a knot of youths collected on the corner, but were dispersed by policemen.

On the other hand some were sympathetic, like the Mennonite who told one heckler that "anything that's for peace is good." But most of the people, as one paper aptly put it, "walked by rapidly wondering what it was all about." Nevertheless, they passed out a thousand leaflets, and when they packed up and started home a group of about twenty people gradually gathered around Jesse, the last to leave, to ask questions and find out more.

The front-page editorial in that day's *New Era* was entitled "Beware of 'Peace' Movements!" It took its cue from recent warnings by Acheson and others against Communist-inspired peace movements and the Stockholm petition, but named no specific organizations at all, condemning all "peace" movements, as it invariably called them. A front-page news story carried the same theme, but thoroughly mixed into the story was the report of the "Peace Caravan's" poster walk and public opinion poll—a mixture that could not help but tar all with the same brush.

From then on, things grew hotter and hotter. The papers carried almost daily stories about the Caravan, or about "peace" movements, or about both. Church and other groups began to cancel invitations to speak. In nearby Marietta a permit to use the park for a meeting was revoked, and a minister who had promised the use of his church if the park permit were cancelled announced to the papers that neither he nor anyone else had

ever promised to let the meeting be held there, and locked the church's door to keep the Caravan out. At the time scheduled for the meeting, several carloads of hoodlums drove slowly up and down the main street. Later, to Bayard Rustin, he admitted he had lied to the papers because of threats against his own life and those who would be meeting in his church, but the papers and the public never heard a retraction. A local FOR member who had been vocal and active in working with the Caravan was forced to withdraw from public activity or lose his position. A group of prominent officials and businessmen, including the Mayor and the Lieutenant-Governor, signed a letter warning against "peace" moves in general that was printed side-by-side with a letter from prominent FOR members and friends explaining the FOR's position and its non-Communist character. In the same issue four Lancaster ministers, none of them pacifists, were asked to comment on the Caravan, and while one was hostile the other three declared the FOR a legitimate pacifist organization and upheld its right to be heard. And in its lead news story the *New Era* impulsively announced "'Peace Caravan' Calls Off Poll and Program Here." (It later recouped by announcing that a "troubleshooter" for the FOR, Bayard Rustin, had made a hurried trip to Lancaster, and ordered the Caravaners not only to resume, but to expand their work.)

The Caravaners went on with their poll, and most of them found the going tougher. More people refused to answer questions, and occasionally doors were slammed in their faces. On the afternoon just after the poster walk, while Phil Marden was polling at one house, a man came over from next door, where Phil had knocked but received no reply, and asked belligerently, "Do you want this guy here?" The man to whom Phil was talking said "No," and the other rushed Phil roughly down the porch steps. John Bailey, sitting on a lawn across the street waiting for Phil to finish, saw the man draw back his fist, and rushed over shouting, "Wait a minute, wait a minute, he isn't doing anything to you!" John and Phil talked to the man, told him what they were doing and that they were not Communists, and calmed him down a bit. Then they went home.

Local F.O.R. Support

To people who phoned to call off speaking engagements, the Caravaners urged that at the very least they should get together a few friends in their own home to hear the group. The open and unfailing support of the local FOR people, including Dr. and Mrs. Henry Williams and the Rev. and Mrs. Carl Nugent, was a source of continuous help and inspiration. One FOR member said in amazement, "Just to think that five people could come to Lancaster and stir up all this!"

The AMVETS announced that they would hold a community-wide rally to offset the effects of the Caravan, and the VFW issued a statement opposing "the so-called 'peace' movement which has been attempting to divide the peoples of our fair city." Winifred Rawlins and Ted Woldorf talked to the AMVETS Commander and the rally chairman, with whom they had an amicable and extended discussion, including an interchange of religious conviction. The AMVETS

spokesman ended by saying that he believed they had a right to speak, but he considered their views dangerous, and, in response to a suggestion that the two groups hold a public debate, said frankly, "We don't want to help you get a platform." The rally did not come off, at least before the Caravan left. Caravaners also talked to Mayor Kendig C. Bare with much the same response.

Future Plans

A week later, with things still popping, John Oliver Nelson, national chairman of the FOR, and A. J. Muste, Bayard Rustin and Charlie Walker went down to Lancaster to talk to the Caravan and the local FOR people. Non-pacifist ministers were also invited to come and talk over the situation, and there was a good discussion. An ongoing program was planned for the FOR, into which the remaining activities of the Caravan were fitted. A few more days were spent on the poll, to get their quota of 160, and several days were spent collating the results. Reporters from the two papers called daily to say "You're going to give the results to *us* first, aren't you?" Since one is a morning and one an evening paper, they could not help giving one an advantage, and finally decided to give it to the *Intelligencer-Journal,* which had been consistently fairer in its stories. They told the *New Era* reporter what they had decided, and his story was headlined "Results of Peace Poll Withheld from *New Era.*" Next day the *New Era* also carried the results of the poll, which showed that 10 percent of those polled said they would refuse to fight, 14 percent thought the Christian church should not support war (though 62 percent thought it should), while 75 percent would have no objection to swimming in a nonsegregated swimming pool. All the pools in Lancaster are segregated except those in the public schools, which are closed in summer. Lancaster's Interracial Council, in which a number of FOR members are active, can follow up on this.

Last big project of the Caravan, on which they spent most of their last week, was planning and promotion of a service to be held on their last night in town, Hiroshima Day, August 6. One religious organization turned down their request for a room, another agreed but said the meeting could not be publicized, the third made the same specification and in addition forbade any mention at the meeting of pacifism in relation to the Korean War and the world situation. The Brethren church in Lancaster, after some hesitation, granted the use of its building, and co-sponsored the service. It was held, with Bayard Rustin making the address, before a crowd of about 150 people, many staying after the formal program was over for discussions.

Caravaners, after their trial by fire, emerged with strengthened and deepened conviction and the steadfastness of people who have faced trouble and refused to step back. Local FOR members, who have done one of the hardest things there is to do in standing up for what they believe in their own community and among their own friends, are convinced that there should be a Caravan in Lancaster next summer, to carry on the work started this year. And anyone who reads a newspaper or gossips with a neighbor in Lancaster knows

there is a pacifist position, and probably has an inkling of what it is. "One regrets the hysteria," Winifred said afterward, "but a lot of people in Lancaster have heard about the FOR."

New York Caravan

Meanwhile the other Caravan, at New York City's Mt. Morris House, was having its up and downs. Under the leadership of NYFOR Secretary Francis Hall, the original group consisted of Gene Sharp and Bob Hamilton of Ohio State, where Gene is doing graduate work in sociology and is vice-president of the YM and President of the Ohio Christian Youth Movement and Bob, a pre-theological student, was Spiritual Action Chairman of the Ohio Christian Student Movement and in the Cabinet of the Y. Bob was also Chairman of the Caravan, while Beth Doeringsfeld, graduate of the University of Minnesota, was its secretary. Carol Roberts, a student at Earlham College, and Marvin Katz of Boston, who has had one semester at William Penn College, completed the group, but within a couple of weeks it had picked up Lynne Walters, who came to visit over the Fourth of July week-end but remained to work for the rest of the month, and Lenore Scheid, who has a Bachelor's degree in journalism from the University of Missouri and a Masters in English from Columbia, and who served as official cameraman for the group.

East Harlem was the area they chose to work in. A mélange of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Italians and many other nationalities and ethnic groups, where two or three families often live in a two-or three-room apartment, where the rats have the people on the run and frequently bite the children in their beds, and where policemen and teachers are assigned as punishment, it presented a tremendous challenge and a great many unique attitudes and problems.

In general they found the people not hostile but indifferent to the preaching of pacifism in Harlem, except for a fear on the part of some of being taken in by the Communists and a need to assert their loyalty to the United States. Talking to a Sunday School in a Harlem church and painting apartments in a dirty, decayed tenement gave Caravaners opportunities for talking to people and letting them know about pacifism.

First Arrest

On July 4 they left their bailiwick to distribute leaflets at patriotic rallies farther downtown. Standing inside the park at the Soldiers and Sailors Monument, Gene was approached by a belligerent man in Army uniform, who wanted to know "Is this Communist? Are you a 100% American? Do you favor the American policy in Korea?" After some discussion he tried to pull Gene away, and Gene fell limp. The soldier left to get a policeman and Gene stood up and tried to answer the charges of "Communist" that the fifteen or so people standing around were hurling at him. When the policeman came and ordered Gene away he tried to talk to him but refused to move. When the cop took him by the arm he fell limp again, and was soon removed by two policemen to a squad car, taken to the police station, and booked on charges of disorderly conduct (for lying down) and for littering the streets, although Caravaners saw none of their leaflets on the ground.

Across the street, Beth watched what was happening. "Most of the people were friendly until Gene lay down on the ground and then there was a gasp from the crowd around him. There was increasing tension until he was taken away," she said. Gene himself felt an important aspect of the incident was the extreme suggestibility of the bystanders when it was implied he was a Communist, and the approach to hysteria on the part of onlookers when an individual does not conform to the established pattern. Police, at first gruff and unfriendly, became friendly and reasonable when Caravaners talked to them and when not under the pressure of the immediate situation. Beth and Joe Geiger were also picked up and taken to the police station, but were not booked. When Gene came up for trial on July 19 he received a suspended sentence.

The East Harlem Caravan held a number of street meetings at various points in that area. Some were relatively uneventful, but others were exciting. One night their meeting ran in competition to a group of Negro Mohammedans passing out literature; a group soliciting signatures for the Stockholm petition and selling the *Daily Worker;* and the Black Nationalists, preaching in-group solidarity to the Negroes and hatred of outgroup whites. Their theme is "Let the white folks kill each other off, and then we'll take over."

Another street meeting went off like a cops-and-robbers movie with pacifist overtones. While Fran was speaking a young rowdy, evidently under the influence of drink, knocked over the speaker's stand and led Fran away by the arm in the direction of a dark alley. Part of the crowd followed at their heels, more on Fran's side than the other, and Fran reasoned with his angry friend until he relinquished his arm. In the interval the boys had righted the stand and Marvin was on it, holding the attention of the rest of the crowd. As Fran came back he cried, "Here comes our hero! Let's give him a great big hand!" and led the crowd in an ovation.

The Abduction

Fran remounted the stand and went on, but the rowdy came back once again, knocked over the stand, and led him away. Again the power of moral jiu-jitsu averted violence, and Fran returned to the stand where he was trying to explain the pacifist point of view when two heavy-set, well-dressed men pushed into the crowd shouting "Break it up!" and unceremoniously pushed Fran and Ralph Robinson into a car standing at the curb and drove away with them.

The other Caravaners, completely nonplussed, split up, Bob and Gene setting out for the police station to report the abduction, the four girls hurrying back to Mt. Morris House to tell Pearl Hall what had happened, and Marvin Katz gathering up the paraphernalia. The fickle crowd promptly switched its allegiance and turned on Marvin, who was shortly picked up by a squad car.

The 26th Precinct station was the scene of a cosy family reunion. Marvin and the squad car showed up first, then Fran and Ralph with the two plainclothesmen who had picked them up, and eventually Bob and Gene, looking for Fran. After a considerable discussion of the pacifist position with the police

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Letter from Paris

By ANN MORRISSETT

KOREA AND THE French ministry share about equal space in the headlines of the French newspapers these days, the latter going through its ceaseless turmoil and change of prime ministers. Queuille, a "Radical Socialist" and the most conservative premier since the war, was just deposed for the even more conservative Pleven, of the M.R.P.; but domestic policies and Schuman, the foreign minister, seem to continue as usual. As to Korea, most of the French newspapers including the non-Communist Left papers *Combat, Franc-Tireur, Le Populaire,* and excepting of course *L'Humanité* and *Ce Soir,* the two Communist dailies in Paris, support American intervention. This does not necessarily mean that the French population is fully behind the recent actions of the U. S.; as is well known, the Communists are strong in France, and the actual extent of their influence is hard to estimate. Their posters and hand-painted signs are all over Paris and the Provinces, and their members go out in full force to sell the Communist newpapers. This is true also of the extreme right DeGaullists, however, who cluster around the churches with their paper *Rassemblement* in the same quantities as do the Communists in other parts of Paris and the port towns.

At the ship-building village of St. Nazaire, which was badly bombed during the war and which is now a dismal barrack town of strongly Communist leanings, a promise of a bonus got the workers to complete the "Liberté" ahead of schedule, then turned out to be a graduated gift which would go mostly into the pockets of the higher-salaried and amount to practically nothing for the low-waged rank and file. Things such as this, plus a confusion over the world situation and a tolerance or even enthusiasm for internationalism as evidenced in the support of Garry Davis and in the French towns which declared themselves "world communities," do not serve to make France as totally enthusiastic, perhaps, about an anti-Russian war as the U. S. might hope. The Schuman proposal, on the other hand, might be taken as evidence of either increasing internationalism or increasing war fervor. This plan, as everyone probably knows, is to combine the coal and steel industries of Germany and France, and has been objected to by both England and Russia as a method of entrenching and making more powerful the private interests which already exist.

I personally have not found war figuring in the average French conversation as much as it figures in the French press, nor as much as I gather it does in both American conversation and press, and I suspect this is partly due to the fact that the French have just had one, thanks. There does seem to be, however, in France and Germany, an acceptance of war and of Europe's inevitable involvement

between the two great powers; and this resignation is perhaps the most difficult attitude to meet. Pressure is increasing to crystallize sides (many Americans in Paris with whom I've talked recently seem to feel a compulsion to take a completely pro- or anti- position at this point), and since France is in the Western sphere of influence it will probably officially give in altogether, if it may not be said to have done so already. Communist-inspired refusals to unload American arms arriving in France were successfully overcome by the French government, and the fact that American military intervention in Korea will also mean support of the French in Indo-China will undoubtedly be a further enticement, since the French people are being urged (even by the old-fashioned device of maps in store windows showing the products with which France is enriched by Indo-China) to recognize the importance of keeping a French finger in the Oriental stew.

The Communist monopoly on peace slogans has pushed many people farther to one side or another, some deciding that if being anti-war means being pro-Communist then they will be pro-war; others deciding the contrary. This is the sad division, of course, that every war creates, as an independent and totally anti-war position becomes increasingly dangerous and vilified by both sides. At every Communist meeting or rally here, as no doubt everywhere today, people are urged to sign the Stockholm appeal denouncing the atom bomb, while discussion of other types of warfare or tinier bombs is ignored. I recently attended a meeting sponsored by "Anglo-Americans Against the Bomb" where, after several speeches, a resolution was introduced urging the Americans to get out of Korea and to accept the proposal of "that magnificent old man" Stalin (as one of the speakers called him) to recognize the representative of Communist China in the UN. (Several non-Communist Left French papers have also advocated this recognition, incidentally, although they support the UN "sanctions.") Someone in the audience proposed an amendment to the resolution urging that the North Koreans withdraw to the 38th parallel and settle the Korean matter peacefully; this amendment was called silly and all but shouted down, and the resolution was passed without it. The entire meeting, obviously Communist-sponsored, left conspicuously absent the name of Russia, with the one exception of the mention of the magnificent old man. Not that this small meeting made a dent on anything, but I was reminded anew of how difficult it is to get an open and basic discussion going among Communists, and the tragedy of the situation that drives into a complete and unquestioning acceptance of Russia so many who have seen or suffered American imperialism. I do not think that pacifists should shy away from such gatherings and such slogans, however; on the contrary it is perhaps almost exclusively up to pacifists, at the inevitable risk of being called dupes, which we're called anyway, to help put real meaning into peace talk while it's still being used—no matter by whom or for what temporary purposes. It is perhaps particularly the job of pacifists in the in-between countries such as France to help create an atmosphere of in-

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News from the Peace Front

Einstein Joins Scientists' Peace Group

Dr. Albert Einstein of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, world-renowned scientist, has joined the Society for Social Responsibility in Science. In an open letter to the Society he said, in part: "The problem of how man should act, if his government prescribes actions or society expects an attitude which his own conscience considers wrong, is indeed an old one. It is easy to say that the individual cannot be held responsible for acts carried out under irresistible compulsion . . . but the very formulation of this idea makes it obvious to what extent such a concept contradicts our sense of justice. . . . In our times scientists and engineers carry particular moral responsibility, because the development of military means of mass destruction is within their sphere of activity. I feel, therefore, that the formation of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science satisfies a true need. . . ."

The Society, whose president is FOR member Dr. Victor Paschkis, has for one of its primary aims the fostering of a tradition of personal moral responsibility for the consequences for humanity of professional activity, with emphasis on constructive alternatives to militarism, and to embody in this tradition the principle that the individual must abstain from destructive work and devote himself to constructive work according to his own moral judgment.

Dr. Einstein's decision, a truly revolutionary one in these days, received virtually no mention in the press when it was released in the middle of July.

CO Cases Here and Abroad

Arthur Morgan, 2d, 18, who is the grandson of Arthur E. Morgan, former TVA chairman and former head of Antioch College, was arrested in Dayton on July 24 on a charge of failing to register for the draft. Morgan is a Quaker.

Mario Barbani of Bologna, Italy, on June 24 stepped out of the Army ranks and laid down his arms at the feet of the astonished Chief of Staff. He was later sentenced to a year's imprisonment.

French COs in four separate processions paraded in Paris to demand legal recognition of COs and the release of three now in jail.

Lutheran Fellowship Elects New Officers

At the Conference on the Church and War held in Detroit, the Lutheran Peace Fellowship met and elected officers. They are the Rev. Robert F. Weiskotten, Chairman, the Rev. Roland A. Ries, Secretary, and Dr. C. Franklin Koch, Treasurer. The group is anxious to get a complete listing of Lutheran pacifists, and urges them to send their names to the Secretary at 4706 Grinden Avenue, Baltimore 14, Maryland.

Action on Korea Draws Few Protests

The action of the United States and the United Nations in sending troops to Korea when fighting broke out there was protested by thirty religious and peace leaders, many of them FOR members, in a statement issued on July 10. The course followed by the Administration "has now brought us to the point where all over the world Russia and the United States are locked in a conflict of power, in countering military might with military might," the statement said. It declared that it is "time for the American people to recognize the bankruptcy of this policy," and called on the United Nations to propose "mediation by leading citizens of the world of the basic issues in the East-West war." Signers included Clarence Pickett, Walter Muelder, John Oliver Nelson, Dean Paul Roberts, E. A. Fridell, Dorothy Day, John Haynes Holmes, John Howland Lathrop and Allan Knight Chalmers. The FOR's official statement was made public at about the same time in the form of an 8-page leaflet entitled *The Meaning of Korea*, which was sent out to all FOR members.

Except for pacifist organizations and, for their own very different reasons, Communist organizations, there was no voice raised to oppose the participation of the United States and the United Nations in the Korean War. Political groups and veterans' organizations immediately endorsed the action, followed promptly by labor organizations, including the AFL and CIO, and by the Federal Council of Churches, which later declared that "courageous and imaginative action" was needed, and proposed as such a system of UN observer commissions all over the world. This proposal was based on the "advantages gained from the presence of a commission in Korea—which quickly resulted in establishing North Korea as the aggressor."

The experience of pacifist groups and individuals throughout the country was that anti-Communist feeling and hysteria make it far more difficult to get a hearing for the pacifist position now than at any time during World War II, and indications are that this situation is more likely to get worse than to improve.

German Christians Study CO Position

The question whether German Christians should refuse to undertake military service in a future war was raised at a recent meeting of the Fraternal Council of the Confession Church (EKID) at Darmstadt, Germany. It was pointed out that any future conflict between the East and West would be a civil war for Germany. Under the leadership of Kirkenpresident Martin Niemoeller, the council decided to put the question on the agenda for its next meeting for thorough discussion.

The British FOR's General Committee on June 28 took the position that training for civil defense in peacetime would help to create a war mentality and thus tend to precipitate war itself, and that it was not the same as participation in civil defense after war has broken out. It suggested that FOR members should be fully engaged in the work of the Fellowship.

CCCO and NSBRO Will Continue CO Counseling

In view of the outbreak of war in Korea and the drafting of men under the renewed Selective Service Act, the Central Committee for COs, which had decided to cease operations on September 1, has reversed its decision. Caleb Foote's resignation as Executive Secretary will nevertheless take effect on September 1, and the Committee is looking for a successor. The National Service Board for Religious Objectors will also continue operations, and has announced that rumors of friction among the sponsoring organizations are entirely without foundation. Presumably the CCCO will continue to service primarily nonregistrants and those who fall outside the narrow definition of a CO in the SS Act, while the NSBRO will continue to service mainly those who seek recognition as COs under the Act. Both organizations will, however, be glad to help any who come to them. At present COs who are granted IV-E are deferred, but indications are that Congress will soon make provision for drafting them into some kind of alternative service.

The CCCO points out that the Selective Service Regulations (Par. 642.31) unequivocally require prison officials to register, and fill out a questionnaire for, every nonregistrant when he is placed in confinement, and sign them if he refuses to sign. The Act also provides that a man convicted of a SS violation should be classified IV-F, but similar regulations in previous draft laws were seldom followed. The CCCO has issued an excellent pamphlet entitled "Conscientious Objectors Under Selective Service," giving the regulations for COs and procedure they should follow.

IFOR Conference Sees Hopeful Signs

The first postwar International Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation was convened July 26 at Woudschoten, Zeist, Netherlands, with 200 delegates from 20 nations present. Germans who had never raised the hand in the Hitler salute, Frenchmen who participated in the Resistance movement, men of many nations who had been in prison shared their stories and remembered the pacifists who had died for their faith.

In the first address of the Conference John Nevin Sayre, Chairman of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, said: "We are at a turning point of history. Humanity can elect world peace or world destruction. The two kingdoms of war and peace are near. The realities of the kingdom of war are evident, yet the less obvious forces of peace have also been growing in our generation." He cited not only the Gandhi campaign in India, but the way in which the "social sciences have been moving away from coercion and penalty toward nonviolent constructive programs."

Henri Roser, Paris pastor and Vice-Chairman of the International FOR, reported a conversation with Halvard Lange, former IFOR member who is now Foreign Minister of Norway. Mr. Lange said "Our trade is the art of compromise. We try to mix with the elements we inherit from the past some ideals. We never can engage in a pure action. You pacifists render us no service when you make concessions with

the violence in this world. You help much more when you make high and hard demands upon us. We may be obliged under existent laws to put you in prison, for example, if you refuse required service, but even as we do so we bless you for forcing us to keep in view God's way. Thus you help us to make a higher compromise than in the past and this is the way of political progress."

The conference, which closed July 30, decided that the message of the IFOR should be brought in the coming years into the churches, the labor movement and among youth. The Conference also decided that special attention should be given to the race question in view of the growing problem in South Africa and other countries. A resolution calling for mediation in Korea pointed out that no real solution to the Communist-Capitalist struggle was possible without a Christian Social Revolution.

Visit State Department, Russian Embassy

On August 8 a group of 28 people from seven states participated in a world citizenship deputation to the State Department and the Russian Embassy in Washington, D. C. The group, each member of which has declared him- or herself a world citizen, first visited the State Department, where they were received by David H. Popper of the Bureau of United Nations Affairs. Statements were made by Grace Rhoads, Ernest Bromley, Mrs. Newton and Bayard Rustin, which further clarified the position adopted by the group in its general statement. The group received a sympathetic hearing, with ample opportunity for questions and statements, and the meeting was attended by members of the domestic and foreign press.

Shortly afterward they were received at the Soviet Embassy by Mr. V. G. Makarov, the Cultural Attaché. After hearing their statement he pointed out that the Russian people were extremely desirous of peace, as evidenced by their signing of the Stockholm Pledge. The group pointed out that they had gone farther than the signing of a pledge, and that they had told the State Department they would not back American militarism and imperialism even in the event of war. They asked him to transmit their statement to the Russian people and urge them not to back Russian militarism and imperialism. The interview was brief and somewhat strained, but he indicated he would do what he could. On leaving the Soviet Embassy, they were interviewed by the press, and news stories later appeared in New York and Washington papers.

British FOR and PPU and "Peace Committees"

The British Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Peace Pledge Union, both pacifist organizations, have recently found it necessary to make clear their separateness from the British Peace Committee, which is the British equivalent of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, with which the American FOR has declared it will not cooperate. Their reasons were that the BPC was influenced by Communists, and that its aims and methods were not pacifist and were not in harmony with basic pacifist beliefs, although superficially they might seem to be in some ways.

Washington Workshoppers Arrested in Cafeteria

Sholl's Cafeteria in Washington was one of the focal points of action by the Interracial Workshop, sponsored by FOR and the Congress of Racial Equality, this summer. During the month of July the group, fifteen strong, investigated restaurants and other public places for racial discrimination, engaged in direct action, negotiation, and discussion in trying to change discriminatory policies. On July 17, after fruitless attempts, through discussions with management, to bring about a change in the cafeteria's discriminatory policy, Workshoppers and interested local people went to Sholl's and lined up at the counter. When waitresses and management refused to serve the Negro members, the group waited in an orderly line at the steam table.

Within ten minutes the police were on the scene, and arrested George Houser and Barbara Henderson, the first two in the line. The rest of the group remained, in line but not impeding service, for another hour, during which, by actual count, twelve patrons left voluntarily when they learned that Negroes were refused service. Many sympathetic comments were heard, and a few unfavorable, mostly accusations of communism. The manager and police returned several times to ask the rest of the group to leave, and finally arrested them and booked them for disorderly conduct. When they came up for trial on July 25, Workshoppers got "$25 or ten days!" They then sent out an appeal for financial help in carrying their case through the courts. A house-to-house canvass was made in the Negro section, in which $200 was collected. The appeal, altogether, brought the amazing response of over $1,000.

Workshoppers also worked on other lunch counters and restaurants, and on some of the local movie theaters. Washington swimming pools, operated by the Department of the Interior, were open this year to whites and Negroes alike, with some falling off in attendance. The Department philosophically announced, however, that it always took a loss on the pools anyway, and made it up with other projects. Attendance at one of the pools was quite mixed, but at the others tended to be mostly whites with a few Negroes, or mostly Negroes with a few whites. The swimming pools, which last year were the scene of riots early in the summer and were then closed, were a focus of last year's Workshop, which did a good deal of educational work in the situation and was congratulated by the Department of the Interior for what it had accomplished.

Dr. Walter Russell Bowie, FOR member and Professor of Practical Theology and Dean of Students at Union Theological Seminary, retired from that position on July 1, 1950. Dr. Bowie, who was pastor of Grace Church in New York for many years, has accepted an appointment as Professor of Homiletics at Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Alexandria, Virginia.

Jottings

On May 9 the Canadian House of Commons voted 147 to 32 against a bill to outlaw Communist and similar activities.

At the Annual Vacation Course of the Youth Christian Council of Action of India, held in May, K. K. Chandy, young FOR member who is General Secretary of the Youth Christian Council, spoke on the problem of peace and on the International FOR. Chandy is devoting some of his time, as a result of decisions made at the Pacifist Meeting in January, to work for the FOR in India.

Figures compiled by the United Nations show that, compared with 1938, of all countries participating in the Marshall Plan Germany's national income has decreased most, (almost 50%), while her population has increased the most, (more than 20%).

The South American FOR has published *Breviario de Paz,* by Juan Nazzari, a member of the FOR Central Committee of Montevideo.

On May 24 the death penalty was abolished for the third time in Austria, after a tumultuous session in Parliament. It was first abolished in 1919, when the Austrian Republic was formed, and was reinstated in the '30s by Chancellor Dollfuss. It disappeared again briefly after World War II but was reintroduced in 1946.

The city with the highest average per capita annual income in the world—$1975—is Los Alamos, New Mexico.

Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, pacifist and friend of Gandhi, has been elected as a fellow of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, N. J. He will be associated with research and creative work in the division of humanities.

John Raitt, FOR member who formerly starred in the musicals *Carousel* and *Magdalena* on Broadway, has been announced as the star of a musical comedy entitled *An Old Kansas Custom,* due to open on Broadway sometime in the fall.

Werner Finck, a German comedian, has started a "party" called Extreme Center. Some of his party slogans are: "For compromises! We are in favor of the Saar question! For the rearmament of toleration!" The party emblem is a safety pin worn under the lapel—"because you never can tell."

The budget of Costa Rica for 1950 provides $1 million for all defense and police expenditures, $3,250,000 for education and $1,750-000 for public works.

José Brocca of Spain, longtime FOR member, in exile in Mexico, died on June 10. He was the founder of the War Resisters International group in Spain and founded an orphanage and carried on relief work during the Spanish Civil War.

Peace Action Abroad

French Leaders Show Tough Faith

Howard Schomer of the American Board, who is carrying out the specifically Congregational Christian "Mission of Fellowship to the Churches of Europe" through the College Cevenol, reports at the beginning of the College's twelfth year of noteworthy service:

"Our director, Monsieur Theis, says that never has he felt so close to our 300 students; never has there been better harmony between faculty and students, than this year."

A number of German children were received and integrated into the school life, even though one knew absolutely no French at the beginning. Three American students included one Negro boy who likewise had to start from scratch in French. Foreign students totalled fifteen and the religious and social background of all the students, about one-third of whom received scholarship aid, ran the gamut.

The slender plant consisted of five barracks, a modest wooden house for the director and a remodelled stone farm house. Continued remodelling transformed a small stable into a handsome rustic library and sprouted a wide eave on the gymnasium which sheltered a garage for two trucks and a cellar for food storage.

Twenty-five teachers and fifteen office and maintenance workers taught and otherwise cared for a student body of three hundred, of whom about 130 were housed and fed by the college, for a total school year expenditure of $60,000.

Mr. Schomer writes further: "The College Cevenol still is equipped like an average D.P. camp such as I have visited in Germany, or like Harvard College as it was in the middle of the Seventeenth Century. Four boys live and study in a cubicle about 7 x 13 feet, made possible by two double-decker beds (without springs). Classes are scheduled from eight until five or later because of a shortage of classrooms, and several rooms used for classes are really only fit for storagerooms. Our teachers have received no salary-raise since October 1948—and asked for none—though a single teacher gets $45. a month and board and room in the village costs at least $37.

"At its last meeting the Finance Committee voted to begin work on a ten-classroom building and to carry this work as far as the $3,000 in hand for this project would go—with the expectation that the work-campers might get the foundations dug this summer. The College Cevenol is not destined ever to be really comfortable, but soon it must be equipped with the elementary paraphernalia of a permanent college for its spirit requires a less under-nourished and truly athletic body."

Muriel Lester Ends South African Tour

Muriel Lester's South African tour climaxed in an annual meeting and a retreat. In her latest private letter she describes the annual

"Goodwill Meeting" arranged by the National Council of Women:

"Up on the platform came in turn a colored woman to make a five-minute 'welcome' to me and the rest. Then an Indian, a Chinese, a Jewess and an African. The place was packed, and I got a fine hearing. Next afternoon we had a get-together of pacifist leaders on the difficulty of the Christian basis for some. It was a triumph of the Spirit in the quality of the mutual confidence and lack of egoism displayed. . . . In the evening a good-sized public meeting."

Of the retreat she writes:

"I flew here to Cape Town, and went straight out to a camping ground belonging to the Cape Town University Y.M.C.A. There we had a week-end retreat—the first ever attended by the eight students (white). It was perhaps the highlight of the tour."

Many doors have opened to her, but more than once she declined invitations to speak in public meetings and in church where it was clear that non-white people would be excluded.

Japanese Writes of War Pacifist

A Japanese professor in a theological seminary in Tokyo, who formerly served in the army, writes of Osamu Ishiga, the only Christian he knew during the war who refused to "take a sword."

"I took for granted that such a person was shot at the moment he refused. But it was not so. Osamu Ishiga grew up in a Christian home. He studied law and economics in the Imperial University. While he was a student he received a strong influence from the Christian peace movement. As he received the red-paper, he went to the Army and told them that because of his faith, he could not take the sword; however, he was willing to serve in any other duty. The gendarme was shocked and tried to change his mind, using all sorts of methods. After weeks and months of investigation, they found out that he was neither a Communist nor a coward. He was a Christian of an exceptional kind who followed the word of Jesus literally and held on to it steadfastly. A strange person with no flexibility and adaptability to the environment. What made the gendarme amazed was not his stupidity, holding fast to the teaching of his religion at the expense of his life, but his goodness, his splendid Christian personality. Finally he was let out of prison because the officers did not know what to do with him, for there had been no case like this in Japan before. He is now serving in a leper colony. I wanted to write about this man . . . for you may be interested in knowing that there is such a person in a country where Christianity was transplanted only seventy years ago."

I.V.S.P. in India

The International Voluntary Service for Peace team in India reports progress in the work with refugees from the North-West Frontier Province in building houses and helping to lay roads for the new refugee town at Faridabad, near Delhi. An English leader and an Indian worker are in charge of a health and recreation center for sixty of the children. The job involves bathing, medical care, handicrafts, games—and training of helpers.

Books

Gandhi and Gandhiism

The Power of Truth, by Herrymon Maurer. Pendle Hill pamphlet, 32 pp., 35c.

A Saint at Work, by Amiya Chakravarty. William Penn Lecture for 1950. Young Friends Movement of Philadelphia Yearly Meetings, 50 pp., 25c.

These two pamphlets are exceptionally fine additions to pacifist and Gandhian literature. Apart from their content, they are written by masters of style and make absorbing reading.

Herrymon Maurer, who wrote *Great Soul,* one of the best biographies of Gandhi, has given in compact form a remarkably comprehensive outline of the basic philosophy of pacifism and its applications in individual and social life. He begins with a description of the contemporary crisis at "mid-century of a time of violence." At few times "have men longed so desperately to be brothers; at few times have they found themselves to be such uneasy strangers." The welter of books and speeches does not seem to help: "the flood of words crashes upon men and women as surf crashes upon a beach."

He suggests that the two great heresies and dangers of our time, reaching an extreme expression in Communist totalitarianism, are the technique of the *lie,* "the heresy that demands that the people be manipulated by force to produce whatever their manipulators consider good"; and "the heresy of the *plan,* the twin of the technique of the lie." The trouble, Maurer points out, with the schemes for reorganizing the outward order "is not that the plans are outward: for persons to attempt to live together without any outward devices would probably be impossible. The trouble is that they are *simply* outward." They do not get at the inner root of our fears, loneliness and insecurity.

What men need first of all to do is to renew their inner contact with Truth—"the Truth which is of God, which is God, inwardly and sensitively felt." There are other ways of describing this ground of our being: "God is reality, that which is; nonviolence that which holds back from hurt; that which goes out to others; pure wisdom, that which is full of outward schemes."

The Power of Truth which is "vaster than weapons, more compelling than fame or fear" must first be felt within and then it can operate without. Maurer illustrates how it might work in strikes, in dealing with segregation in the South, in relation to Russia and the war-system.

"If but a handful of us were completely given to the light of Truth, our world would not remain sunk in torment. But there is no such handful. There is no remnant." Looking at Gandhi, however, Maurer concludes on a note of

hope. "Once again, in our own time and before our own eyes, a man who found reality by staking his life" on the Power of Truth, has shown that it is "greater than any of the powers of this world."

Chakravarty in the William Penn lecture deals with the same basic matters but in an entirely fresh way and with different and rich illustrative material.

His description of different types of saints seems very suggestive. Gandhi he describes as "a man who prayed and worked, as a man amongst men, in a world held by a spiritual order with which he identified himself and humanity." On the other hand, "the retreatist saint who left the world in order to see and serve God outside humanity, or the severe saint who worked among men but with a sense of compromise and martyrdom, or the unfailing saint who claimed an inherited authority was not of Mahatma Gandhi."

Chakravarty is most helpful in showing in considerable detail just how Gandhi dealt with "the apparent contradiction between the technique of action involving the use of social and political instruments, and the world of spiritual realization which seems to have no relation with success or failure on transient levels and is an end in itself." I agree with the author that effecting an integration of these two is the great need of our time and that this can not be achieved by logic but by "the simple acceptance and use of life *as it appears to us in a state of spiritual awareness.*" It is by this means of infusing politics with "spiritual awareness" and not by accepting politics, as the Niebuhrians tend

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of Important Reading

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- ☐ KOREA: SPARK TO SET A WORLD AFIRE? (Muste) .25
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- ☐ THEMES AND VARIATIONS (Aldous Huxley) 3.50
- ☐ CHRISTIAN RESPONSE TO THE ATOMIC CRISIS (Edward Long, Jr.) 2.00
- ☐ SCIENCE AND CHRISTIAN FAITH (Long) 1.75
- ☐ A MIGHTY FORTRESS (Ernest Fremont Tittle) 2.50
- ☐ MEAT IN DUE SEASON (Milton Mayer) .15
- ☐ GANDHI AND THE H-BOMB (Muste) .15
- ☐ PACIFISM AND PERFECTIONISM (Muste) .15
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to do, on its own ground, that modern man can solve his crisis.

There is a valuable section interpreting Gandhi's fasts and their effects and toward the close a section in Chakravarty's most charming manner on Gandhi's "spiritual gaiety."

—A. J. MUSTE

Briefs for COs

Conscientious Objectors Under Selective Service. CCCO, 1950. 18 pp., 40c.

A manual for COs or those who counsel COs, this gives the regulations of the present Selective Service Act, procedure for filling out questionnaires, etc., and background for the CO position in general.

Conscientious Objection to War: A Selected Bibliography. CCCO, 1950. 20 pp., 15c.

This is just what the title indicates, with sections on the Background and Development of Conscientious Objection, Conscientious Objection Before 1939, Conscientious Objection in World War II, Conscientious Objection and the Law, and some supplementary material on COs in foreign countries.

The University Spirit

The Idea of a World Community, by L. P. Jacks. National Peace Council, London. 24 pages, 10c.

Dr. Jacks, English educator and author, in his ninetieth year presents in simple and readable form a searching analysis of what he considers are the fundamental issues involved in the establishment of a world community. He points out the weaknesses of the political or treaty-making method which is really war-making. He finds in the schools the growing point of world community—that is, in every institution and form of association engaged in liberating creative powers in the nature of man—and selects the university as being the most distinctly fitted medium to lead in the direction of universality. He says that it is a short step to pass from the university to the idea underlying UNESCO, which to him is an attempt to internationalize the university spirit and give it a world extension. He believes that the character of such a community would be essentially spiritual, pointing out that its religion would far surpass any of our present conceptions.

—HAZEL BROWNSON

In the review of *Sweden, Champion of Peace,* by David Hinshaw, which appeared in June FELLOWSHIP, the author was referred to as a member of the Board of the American Friends Service Committee. We are informed by the AFSC that this information, which we took from the publishers' note on the author, is incorrect.

ABOUT THE ADS

FELLOWSHIP declines advertising which it considers obviously unsuitable. However, it does not want to censor ideas. FELLOWSHIP feels that it is a sound educational and democratic approach to assume that members can and should decide for themselves which ideas they want to follow up and which are useless or repugnant to them.

Letters

The Power of Prayer

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The time is late, but not too late, we believe, to put in operation the power of gentleness—active love—in a disintegrating world situation. Such work requires at once every energy of peace-loving people everywhere, whether it is expended in political and social action for reconciliation, or in prayers for reconciliation. We recognize the value of all forces but are offering ourselves to unify the latter force as we can.

There are two forms of prayer and both of them are necessary: first, there is the practice of the Presence of the God of Peace, which means a conscious effort all through the day and night to offer little prayers for reconciliation until that plea becomes virtually a habit of our minds; second, there is the setting aside of a definite time to concentrate on bringing the love of God into the situation where men are warring against one another. We are asking you to join us in both.

We have confidence in the power of prayer; we feel no prayer whether from the heart of the very young or the very old, the very strong or the very weak, is ineffectual. Therefore it is our concern to enroll all who feel able to offer themselves to a daily prayer commission for peace. This means anyone who can commit himself or herself for some definite time each day to this work of the spirit, preferably for not less than thirty minutes. In this way it is possible that there will never be a moment of the day or night when this energy of prayer is not being used to bring reconciliation among men. A continuous vigil for peace is needed—a voluntary devotion that matches in energy the involuntary service required of conscripted soldiers.

We invite all such to communicate with us immediately.

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India's Dilemma

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

If disarmament is at all to come, it will come only when a state gathers courage to disarm itself irrespective of what other nations do. Whether India will take that honor, is more than I can say. There are innumerable difficulties in the way. With some millions of my people, fighting is a hereditary profession, and they have a vested interest in keeping it alive. Their influence will always remain on any government that comes into power.

But whether or not India is able to give a lead in the matter, it has to be done. And in a way, as Gandhi said, India's traditions and culture are more suited for adoption of the disarmament policy than perhaps those of other nations.

In any case those who believe in the ideal of nonviolence and pacifism have to work on—regardless of immediate results.

K. G. MASHRUWALA
Editor, *Harijan*
Bombay, India

Sectarianism in F.O.R.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Prone to deliberate with myself over the reasons why our peace movement is of insignificant importance I have reached the conclusion that the fault lies "not in the stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings." At the same time that we of the FOR preach brotherhood we practice sectarianism through our narrow, Protestant-Christian slant. It is obviously hypocrisy to permit such a situation to continue.

How can one "beyond the fold" react to the following, taken from the March, 1950 FELLOWSHIP: "The Church of Christ in the name of Christ has taken the weapons from the hands of their sons, forbidden war, and proclaimed the peace of Christ." When a Jewish friend of mine accidentally saw that on the cover of a magazine entitled, of all things, FELLOWSHIP, her shock and abhorrence influenced me so, that I cannot but express similar sentiments.

The same copy of FELLOWSHIP also contained the following (a partial list, obviously): "Moreover, we pacifists need to take the neo-orthodox criticism to heart in judging ourselves as moral beings and professing Christians"; "A conference to discuss questions of Christian action raised by modern war will be held in Detroit. . . ." The first statement, by A. J. Muste, certainly cannot apply to me. As a member of Community Church, with the Gandhian view of religion, I do not profess to be a Christian, nor do I so wish to be considered, as that is a term relating to only one of the many ethical sources from which I derive inspiration. If one wishes individually to improve himself in a "Christian" way, all power to him, but a supposedly intercultural group must not do so without losing its identity.

Mr. Muste referred to the pacifist movement as "Christian pacifism." He certainly could not have had FOR members like me in mind, nor the several Jewish, humanist or agnostic members. Also, that would in itself doom any future mass-pacifist movement, if one can hopefully look ahead into the almost unforeseeable future, as the majority of the American population has no church affiliation whatsoever, and most of the remaining few are marginal members at most.

That the FOR should participate in a conference on "Christian action" is ridiculous. According to the statement of purpose, it has as much right to launch a Call to Jewish Action, or a Call to Catholic Action, or Hindu Action. Why not a conference on decent, ethical action, on action in keeping with the brotherhood of man, on action through bettering man's relations with his fellow man? If the FOR did so, it would then truly live according to that supremely high philosophy of reconciliation. Unless it does so, it is doomed.

ARTHUR WILLIAM RUDOLPH
Brooklyn, New York

Member from Japan

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I am glad to hear that I was admitted to the membership of FOR and I feel responsible for my actions and thoughts to be equal to the principles and spirit of the group.

I have been working as vice-president of NARA UNESCO Cooperative Association and teacher of high school. I have eighty students under my direction, correspond with U.S., Canadian and British students to promote understanding. I will try to be a worthy member of such a group. I regret that I cannot send my annual fee because of currency regulation.

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PARIS (*from page* 17)

dependence and neutrality which might make the imminent world battle less total. Switzerland and Sweden are still looked on with contempt by France and other European countries for their neutrality in the last war, and neutrality by itself is not an admirable goal for pacifists; but the creation of an equitable and durable peace among human beings does have as a minimum requirement—as all occupied countries including France apparently conceded at one time or another—the existence of a few human beings.

CARAVANS

(*Continued from page* 15)

the group was released, and arrived home just as the girls were about to set out and look for them.

It was hard to assess the effect of the Caravan, for the area was large and its population enormous. (If the one city block where Caravaners did their painting 4,000 people live.) But, as in Lancaster, a lot of people heard about the pacifist position who had never known there was a position of dissent from war.

Some Caravaners became convinced that the indirect approach would prove to be the most direct in the long run, and that tackling a community problem like filthy unrepaired tenements, rats that threaten babies, and others close to the needs and hearts of people who would find out what pacifists were like and what they stand for through such action, was the best. Others saw great value in such techniques as street meetings, leaflet distribution, and other opportunities for presenting the straight pacifist point of view on a variety of problems. All the Caravaners agreed, though, that they were just getting into their stride when the six weeks were up and their summer was over, and wished they had another six before them.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, Room 115, 213 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.; *Middle Atlantic:* Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

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